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29		STAFF MEMBER: Daniel E	E. Pollner
30	SOURCE: COMPLAIN	NT GENERATED	
31	COMPLAINANTS:	·	
32	MUR 5169	James Mangia and Harry Kresky	
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34	<u>MUR 5190</u> :	Virginia Reform Party	•
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1 **RESPONDENTS:** 2 3 4 5 6 Reform Party 2000 Convention Committee, and 7 MUR 5169: 8 Gerald Moan. Treasurer Reform Party of the United States of America, and 9 Mark Lauterman, as Treasurer 10 Buchanan for President, Inc. 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 Reform Party 2000 Convention Committee, 18 MUR 5190: 19 Gerald Moan, Treasurer 20 Dale A. Cooter, Esq. 21 Reform Party of the United States of America, and Mark Lauterman, Treasurer⁵ 22 23 Cooter, Mangold, Tompert & Wayson, P.L.L.C. 24 Pat Choate 25 Patrick J. Buchanan 26 **RELEVANT STATUTES** 26 U.S.C. § 9008(a) 26 U.S.C. § 9008(c) 27 AND REGULATIONS: 28 26 U.S.C. § 9008(g) 29 26 U.S.C. § 9012(c) 30 11 C.F.R. § 9008.3(a)(2) 31 11 C.F.R. § 9008.7(a) 32 11 C.F.R. § 9008.11 33 11 C.F.R. § 9008.12(b) 34 **INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: Audit Documents** 35 Financial Reports 36

In MUR 5190, the Reform Party of the United States of America and its treasurer were manned as respondents, received a copy of the complaint, and filed a joint response with the Reform Party 2000 Convention Committee and its treasurer.

I. INTRODUCTION

This First General Counsel's Report covers four matters under review ("MURs")

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Each MUR arose from a

5 complaint filed with the Commission. Due to substantial factual and legal overlap, we

6 address all four MURs in this Report.

II. <u>OVERVIEW</u>

The Committee was established as a "convention committee" of the Reform Party of the United States of America ("RPUSA") pursuant to the Presidential Election

Campaign Fund Act ("Fund Act"), which provides public financing for presidential election campaigns and nominating conventions. To qualify for public funding for its presidential nominating convention, a party must establish a "convention committee" to be "responsible for conducting the day to day arrangements and operations of that party's presidential nominating convention." 11 C.F.R. § 9008.3(a)(2). Pursuant to the Fund Act, the Committee received \$2,522,690 in federal funding to pay for certain allowable convention expenses.

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III. BACKGROUND

Due to the complicated and controversial series of events surrounding the RPUSA between the 1996 and the 2000 elections, a factual background is necessary to adequately discuss the issues raised in these MURs.

⁶ See 26 U.S.C. § 9001, et seq. The Committee registered with the Commission as a national committee of the RPUSA by filing a statement of organization on October 9, 1999.

The use of these funds is governed by 11 C.F.R. § 9008.7(a), which sets forth the types of expenses that may be paid with public funding.

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1996-2000: Between Presidential Elections A.

2 In the 1996 general election, Ross Perot and Pat Choate ran as the Reform Party candidates for President and Vice President, respectively. The Perot/Choate ticket 3 received a sufficient portion of the vote to entitle the party to public money for its 2000 4 5 presidential nominating convention under the Fund Act. The public funds were disbursed to the Committee in two installments, one in December 1999 and the other in June 2000. 6 In the summer of 1999, a RPUSA meeting was held in Dearborn, Michigan, at which 7 8 time John Gargan was elected Chairman of the RPUSA and Ronn Young was elected Treasurer. After the Dearborn Convention, the RPUSA established the Committee (i.e., 9 10 the convention committee), and Mr. Gargan appointed Mr. Young as Chairman and 11 Treasurer of the Committee. In late 1999, a group within the party sought to recruit Patrick J. Buchanan to be 12 13 the party's presidential nominee in 2000. Mr. Gargan and Mr. Young were apparently 14 opposed to Mr. Buchanan as the party's presidential candidate. On February 12, 2000, a 15 meeting of the RPUSA National Committee was held in Nashville, Tennessee. 16 ("Nashville Meeting"). Mr. Gargan, as Chairman, refused to call the meeting to order, 17 but Gerald Moan, as Vice Chairman, did so. Thereafter, pursuant to the Party's 18 constitution, the National Committee removed Mr. Gargan as Chairman and replaced him 19 with Mr. Choate. The National Committee also at that time removed Mr. Young as 20 Treasurer and replaced him with Tom McLaughlin. Mr. Choate, as Chairman, then appointed Mr. Moan as the Chairman and Treasurer of the Committee, replacing Mr. Young, who had been appointed to those posts by Mr. Gargan just a few months earlier. Thus, at the Nashville Meeting, Mr. Choate and Mr. Moan, who supported Mr. Buchanan, replaced Mr. Gargan and Mr. Young, who opposed Mr. Buchanan.

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Mr. Young and Mr. Gargan, disputing the validity of the Nashville Meeting, refused to recognize the actions taken there and refused to cede control over the party. 2 3 Mr. Choate and Mr. Moan filed a lawsuit in federal court in Virginia against Mr. Gargan and Mr. Young to validate the actions taken at the Nashville Meeting and obtain control 4 over the public money that had been paid to the Committee. The U.S. District Court for 5 the Western District of Virginia in Lynchburg ("Lynchburg Court") ruled in favor of 6 Mr. Choate and Mr. Moan, concluding that Mr. Gargan and Mr. Young had been duly 7 removed from their respective offices at the Nashville Meeting.⁸ Mr. Choate and 8

B. 2000 Primary and Nominating Convention

Once the new leadership was in place, plans went forward for the Party to hold its 2000 nominating convention in Long Beach, California. The RPUSA conducted preconvention primary balloting by mail. The two leading candidates for the presidential nomination were Mr. Buchanan and John Hagelin. Pursuant to party rules, various groups of voters were sent primary ballots, including voters on lists submitted by the candidates. As the date of the convention neared, Buchanan supporters and Hagelin supporters began to complain of each other's voter lists.

Mr. Moan took control over the RPUSA and the Committee pursuant to the court ruling.

On August 10, 2000, Mr. Moan convened a nominating convention at the Long Beach Convention Center ("Long Beach Convention"). Claiming they had been wrongly denied access to the Long Beach Convention, a group of Hagelin supporters convened a competing convention across the street from the convention center, which was presided over by James Mangia (complainant in MUR 5169) and Sue Harris DeBauche

Reform Party of the United States v. Gargan, 89 F.Supp.2d 751 (W.D. Va. 2000). The Lynchburg Court concluded that the Nashville Meeting had been duly called to order by the Party's Vice-Chairman, Mr. Moan, after the Chairman had refused to do so. The court further concluded that the National Committee's removal of Mr. Gargan and Mr. Young had been in accordance with the Party's constitution.

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1 (complainant in MUR 5190). Those in attendance at the Long Beach Convention

2 selected Mr. Buchanan as the party's presidential nominee and Ezola Foster as its vice-

3 presidential nominee. Meanwhile, those in attendance at the other convention, purporting

4 to be conducting the party's official nominating convention, nominated Mr. Hagelin as

5 the RPUSA presidential nominee and Nat Goldhaber as its vice-presidential nominee.

After the two conventions, supporters of Mr. Buchanan and Ms. Foster began promoting them as the party's nominees and attempted to place their names on state ballots for the upcoming general election. At the same time, supporters of Mr. Hagelin and Mr. Goldhaber began promoting them as the party's nominees and attempted to place their names on state ballots. While these competing factions were engaged in securing ballot access for their respective nominees, Mr. Moan filed a lawsuit in California Superior Court in Los Angeles ("California Court") seeking a judicial determination that the Long Beach Convention was valid and that Mr. Buchanan and Ms. Foster were the party's legitimate nominees. The Hagelin supporters, who were defendants in the lawsuit filed by Mr. Moan, responded by asserting that the Long Beach Convention was invalid.

The California Court rejected the Hagelin supporters' contention that the Long Beach Convention was invalid and issued an injunction against Mr. Hagelin.

Mr. Goldhaber and their supporters that prohibited them from promoting Mr. Hagelin and Mr. Goldhaber as the party's nominees. Specifically, the California Court made the following findings:

• The Meeting and Convention chaired by Gerald Moan [i.e., the Long Beach Convention] was conducted in conformity with the Reform Party Constitution. The Meeting and Convention chaired by

⁹ See Reform Party of the United States v. Hagelin, No. 028469 (Super. Ct. Cal. 2000).

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1	•	James Mangia, which resulted in the John Hagelin nomination,
2		violated the Reform Party Constitution;

- Patrick J. Buchanan was properly nominated as the party's candidate for President and Ezola Foster was nominated as its candidate for Vice President. The nominations were in conformity with the Reform Party Constitution; and
- The [Hagelin Supporters] have no colorable claim that they are, or represent, the official Reform Party of the United States of America or the official candidate of the Reform Party.
- Thus, the California Court upheld the legality of the Long Beach Convention and the

 Buchanan/Foster nominations.

C. Public Financing for the General Election

While the proceedings in the California Court were ongoing, Mr. Buchanan and Ms. Foster, claiming to be the official RPUSA candidates, asked the Commission to certify the payment of approximately \$13 million in public money for their general election campaign. Mr. Hagelin and those supporting him challenged Mr. Buchanan's and Ms. Foster's entitlement to the public funding, claiming that the Long Beach Convention was not conducted in accordance with the party's rules and, thus, Mr. Buchanan and Ms. Foster had not been duly nominated.

The Commission rejected the challenges mounted by the Hagelin supporters and certified approximately \$13 million in public funding for the Buchanan/Foster general election campaign. The Commission did not, however, directly address the legality of the Long Beach Convention out of concern that doing so would "entangle [the Commission] in the complexities of party rules or procedures." Moreover, the Commission determined that the legality of the Long Beach Convention was irrelevant

¹⁰ See Request to Deny Certification of Public Funds to Patrick J. Buchanan and Ezola Foster, Statement of Reasons, LRA 598 (Nov. 2, 2000).

1	because "the Fund Act does not define eligibility in terms of a political party's actions."
2	Instead, to receive public money under the Fund Act, a candidate must qualify to be on
3	the ballot as the candidate of the party in ten or more states. Since Mr. Buchanan and
4	Ms. Foster had demonstrated their entitlement to be on the ballot as the RPUSA nominees
5	in more than ten states, the Commission determined that they were entitled to receive
6	public money under the Fund Act.
7	D. Audit of the Convention Committee
8	The Commission's Audit Division conducted the statutorily mandated audit of the
9	Convention Committee, which resulted in a final audit report ("FAR") that was approved
10	by the Commission on September 26, 2002.11 The FAR included a finding that
11	approximately \$338,000 in expenditures by the Committee were not legitimate
12	convention expenses under the Fund Act and, therefore, could not be paid with public
13	funds. Consequently, the Commission issued a repayment determination, which requires
14	the RPUSA to repay to the U.S. Treasury the \$333,558 that was improperly used. 12
15	The largest component of the repayment determination was a \$300,000 payment
16	to The Performance Group ("TPG") for consulting services. 13
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¹¹ See Report of the Audit Division on the Reform Party 2000 Convention Committee (Sept. 26, 2002).

¹² The repayment amount was calculated by multiplying the amount of impermissible expenditures by the ratio of total public funds received by the Committee to all funds received by the Committee, which was 98.5411 percent. See FAR at 17. Consequently, the amount of the repayment is slightly less than the amount of impermissible expenditures.

¹³ The remainder of the repayment amount was comprised of several smaller expenditures that were determined by the Commission to have been improper.

IV. THE LAW

Under the Fund Act, a political party that satisfies certain criteria is eligible to receive public financing for its presidential nominating convention. 26 U.S.C. § 9008. To qualify for public financing for its presidential nominating convention, a political party must "establish a convention committee which shall be responsible for conducting the day to day arrangements and operations of that party's presidential nominating convention." 11 C.F.R. § 9008.3(a)(2). The convention committee shall receive all public funds to which the party is entitled for its presidential nominating convention. *Id.* "All expenditures on behalf of the national committee for convention expenses shall be made by the convention committee." *Id.*

A committee that receives public funds for its presidential nominating convention may use those funds only for the following purposes: (1) to defray convention expenses incurred by or on behalf of the national committee receiving the public funds: (2) to repay the principal and interest on loans used to defray convention expenses; and (3) to restore funds (including advances from the national committee to the convention committee), other than contributions to the committee for the purpose of defraying convention expenses, where such funds were used to defray convention expenses.

26 U.S.C. § 9008(c); 11 C.F.R. § 9008.7(a). Convention expenses include all expenses incurred by or on behalf of a political party's national committee or convention committee with respect to and for the purpose of conducting a presidential nominating

convention or convention-related activities. 11 C.F.R. § 9008.7(a)(4).

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1	It is unlawful for the national committee of a major or minor party which receives
2	any payment of public money for its presidential nominating convention to use or
3	authorize the use of such funds for impermissible purposes as set forth at 26 U.S.C.
4	§ 9008(c). 26 U.S.C. § 9012(c)(2); 11 C.F.R. § 9012.3(b). The Commission has the
5	power to initiate, defend or appeal any civil action in the name of the Commission to
6.	enforce the provisions of the Fund Act. 2 U.S.C. § 437d(a)(6). Any person who believes
7	that a violation of the Fund Act has occurred, may file a complaint with the Commission.
8	2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1).
9	The Commission is required to conduct an examination and audit of the
0	convention committee no later than December 31 of the calendar year of the convention.
1	26 U.S.C. § 9008(g); 11 C.F.R. § 9008.11. A national committee that has received

11 C.F.R. § 9008.12(a)(1). The Commission may make a repayment determination under 14 any of the following circumstances: (1) if the committee received a payment in excess of 15 16 that to which it was entitled; (2) if the committee exceeded applicable expenditure 17 limitations; (3) if the committee accepted contributions to defray convention expenses 18 which, when added to the federal funds received by the committee, exceeds applicable 19 expenditure limitations; or (4) if public funds received by the committee were used for 20 impermissible purposes. 11 C.F.R. § 9008.12(b).

federal money for use in connection with its presidential nominating convention shall

repay to the U.S. Treasury any amounts that the Commission determines to be repayable.

PAGES 11-17 HAVE BEEN DELETED

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8		В.	MUR 5169	
9		1.	Allegations	
10		The c	complaint in MUR 5169, though not entirely clear, appears to allege that the	
11	Committee violated the Fund Act by spending public money on the Long Beach			
12	Conve	ntion,	which was allegedly not conducted in accordance with RPUSA rules. 19	
13	Specif	ically,	the complaint states that Mr. Moan, as Chairman of the Committee:	
14 15 16	•	nomi	ringly provided 500,000 supporters of Mr. Buchanan with presidential nating ballots even though these persons did not meet the criteria for ving ballots under RPUSA rules;	
17 18 19	•	Presi	orted the efforts of the Buchanan campaign to prevent the RPUSA's dential Nominations Committee from conducting an audit of the lists imary voters that were provided by the candidates;	
20 21 22 23	•	disqu nomi	sed the action of the Executive Committee of the RPUSA to salify Buchanan as a candidate for the RPUSA presidential nation as a sanction for obstructing the aforementioned investigation the qualifications of these Buchanan supporters;	
24 25	•		ely supported the effort by the Buchanan campaign to rescind the SA nominating process; and	
26 27 28 29	•		ed to seat legally elected delegates to the convention who would not ge their support for Mr. Buchanan.	

¹⁹ MUR 5169 was filed on January 30, 2001 by James Mangia, who purports to be a former Secretary of the Reform Party, and Harry Kresky, who purports to be a member of the Reform Party 2000 Presidential Nominations Committee.

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2. Responses

Two responses to the complaint in MUR 5169 were filed. One was filed by

Buchanan Reform, Inc. ("BRI") and the other was filed by the Committee.

(a) BRI Response

BRI points out that the complaint "does not make any specific factual allegations about Buchanan Reform, Inc., and it does not identify any provisions in [the Act] that Buchanan Reform, Inc. has allegedly violated." Consequently, BRI contends that the complaint is "insufficient as a matter of law" and urges the Commission to dismiss it.

(b) Committee Response

The Committee explains in its response that, pursuant to party rules, primary ballots were distributed prior to the nominating convention to various categories of primary voters, including voters identified by the candidates. The Committee claims to have "received complaints from virtually every segment of the party alleging improprieties in the submission of lists of voters to be given [primary] ballots."

15 According to the Committee:

16 the Hagelin supporters alleged impropriety by Mr. Buchanan and the Buchanan supports alleged impropriety by Mr. Hagelin. To further 17 18 complicate the situation, various state party members also complained that 19 they had been treated improperly by their respective state parties. 20 Thus, the Committee contends that, by the time the Long Beach Convention was 21 convened in August 2000, "many in the party concluded that the primary balloting 22 process was fatally flawed." According to the Committee, a resolution was passed at the 23 Long Beach Convention to override the primary balloting and select the nominees at the

convention. Thereafter, the Committee contends, Mr. Buchanan and Ms. Foster were

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1 The Committee also denies each of the five specific allegations raised in

- 2 the complaint in MUR 5169, as follows:
- The Committee denies that Mr. Moan knowingly permitted the Buchanan campaign to submit a list of unqualified voters to receive primary ballots. The Committee insists that Mr. Moan had no knowledge of the specifics of the lists submitted by either of the candidates.
 - With regard to the allegation that Mr. Moan supported efforts to prevent an audit of the lists of primary voters, the Committee contends that such an audit is not provided for in the party rules.
 - The Committee denies that Mr. Moan improperly prevented action by the RPUSA Executive Committee to disqualify Mr. Buchanan. It claims that "no properly constituted Executive Committee passed a valid resolution to disqualify Mr. Buchanan." The Committee also insists that Mr. Moan, as its Chairman, would have likewise "opposed any purported action of a rump Executive Committee to disqualify Mr. Hagelin."
 - The Committee denies that Mr. Moan supported the effort by the Buchanan campaign to rescind the RPUSA nominating process. As explained above, the Committee contends that, in light of the widespread belief that the preconvention balloting was tainted, a valid resolution was passed at the convention to disregard the pre-convention voting and select the nominees on the convention floor. The Committee insists that the party's nomination process "was meticulously followed, not rescinded."
 - The Committee denies that Mr. Moan, as Chairman, refused to seat legitimate delegates to the convention. The Committee points out that the legality of the Long Beach Convention has been upheld by the California Court against identical allegations of improper seating of delegates. Moreover, the Committee notes that both complainants in MUR 5169 were parties before the California Court.
 - Thus, the Committee denies each of the five specific allegations contained in MUR 5169.

The Committee further points out that, in addition to having their allegations rejected by the California Court, the complainants -- Mr. Kresky and Mr. Mangia - mounted the unsuccessful attempt to prevent the Commission from certifying public financing for the Buchanan/Foster general election campaign. Thus, the Committee characterizes the allegations in MUR 5169 as a "final desperate effort" by Mr. Kresky and Mr. Mangia to revive claims that have already been rejected in various forums. In light of

the foregoing, the Committee requests that the Commission dismiss MUR 5169.

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3. Analysis

This Office recommends that the Commission dismiss MUR 5169 because the California Court has already determined that the Long Beach Convention was conducted in accordance with party rules. In fact, Mr. Kresky and Mr. Mangia, the complainants in MUR 5169, were defendants before the California Court and raised virtually identical claims in that forum. Moreover, Mr. Kresky and Mr. Mangia filed a stipulation in the California Court, in which they consented to the entry by that court of the injunction against them. The complainants have, thus, consented to the issuance of an injunction that rejects the same allegations that they raise here. Finally, the Commission, in issuing a repayment determination for only a small portion of the money spent by the Committee on the Long Beach Convention, has tacitly acknowledged that the Committee has satisfied its burden to establish that all other spending was proper. In light of the foregoing, this Office recommends that the Commission dismiss MUR 5169 as to all respondents.

C. MUR 5190

1. Allegations

MUR 5190 contains two allegations.²⁰ First, as in the other MURs, the complaint challenges all spending of public money on the Long Beach Convention on the grounds that the convention was not conducted in accordance with RPUSA rules. Second, MUR 5190 challenges all payments made by the Committee to the law firm Cooter, Mangold, Tompert & Wayson, P.L.L.C. ("Cooter Firm") for the professional services of one of its attorneys, Dale Cooter. The basis for this challenge is that Mr. Cooter violated

²⁰ MUR 5190 was filed on April 4, 2001 by Sue Harris DeBauche, who purports to be Chairman of the Virginia Reform Party.

1 professional ethics rules and, thus, under the Fund Act, public money could not be used to

- 2 pay for his services. Specifically, the complaint alleges that Mr. Cooter acted in
- 3 Mr. Buchanan's interest rather than in the party's interest.

2. Response

The Committee and the Party filed a joint response to the complaint in

6 MUR 5190, denying that the Long Beach Convention was illegal.

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With regard to the allegations of ethical

- 9 violations by Mr. Cooter, the Committee notes that the complainant in MUR 5190, Ms.
- 10 DeBauche, asserted identical allegations against Mr. Cooter before the Virginia State Bar
- 11 ("VSB") and the Attorney Grievance Commission of Maryland ("AGCM"), which
- regulate lawyers in their respective states. The Committee attached to its response
- documents that demonstrate that the allegations were dismissed by the two state agencies.
- 14 Moreover, the Committee points out that the payments it made for legal services related
- 15 to the Long Beach Convention were reviewed by the Commission's Audit Division,
- which raised "no questions or objections to these expenditures." Consequently, the
- 17 Committee contends that all payments to the Cooter Firm were permissible.

3. Analysis

This Office recommends that the Commission dismiss MUR 5190 because the allegations in MUR 5190 were properly raised and rejected in other forums. Specifically, as explained above, the legality of the Long Beach Convention has been upheld by the California Court, which found that it was conducted in accordance with party rules. With regard to the allegations of ethical misconduct by Mr. Cooter, these allegations are

outside the Commission's jurisdiction and have already been considered and dismissed by

the appropriate regulatory bodies in Maryland and Virginia. Indeed, as set forth on the documents attached to the Committee's response, the VSB concluded, "no tribunal which adjudicates complaints of attorney misconduct in the Commonwealth of Virginia would find that Mr. Cooter engaged in ethical misconduct." Likewise, the AGCM, did not "find any actions by Mr. Cooter that violate the Maryland Rules of Professional Conduct."21 For these reasons, this Office recommends that the Commission dismiss MUR 5190 as to all respondents.

²¹ Given that the state entities with jurisdiction over attorney professional misconduct have found no ethical violations, it is not necessary for the Commission to resolve whether the expenditure of public money for legal services from attorneys that are later found to have committed ethical violations would constitute a violation of the Fund Act by the client committee.

1 VII. <u>RECOMMENDATIONS</u>

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- 20 7. Dismiss MUR 5169 as to all respondents and close the file;
- 21 8. Dismiss MUR 5190 as to all respondents and close the file;
- 22 9.
- 23 10. Approve the appropriate letters.

24 Date: 10-2-03

25 Lawrence H. Norton General Counsel

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28 BY: James A. Kahl

29 Deputy General Counsel

30
31 Gregory R. Baker

32 Acting Associate General Counsel

Peter G. Blumberg
Acting Assistant General Counsel

Daniel E. Pollner Attorney